3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER ONE

Order and Variation in Ritual

It is possible for the student of Balinese ritual to discern, after many years of attendance at these recurring festivals in different villages, a sort of skeleton form common to all of them, a pattern whose broad lines are the same regardless of local variations. Each temple has its own fixed program of ceremonial in which the sequence of events is not varied from year to year. Two temples in a single village may follow a different order of events, a purification ceremony which, by customary usage takes place in the one on the first day of the festival, occurs in the other on a later day. Each sticks to its own usage, and if the priest of the second temple were for some reason unable to officiate, and the priest from the first temple were asked to substitute for him, the order of ritual customary in the temple would be followed, not that of the visiting priest. Neither of these priests would be able to give an outline of the skeleton form which is common to the two temples. They would be able to point out differences, and, with considerable difficulty and many lapses of memory, could relate the order of events which they have learned to follow. Our method was to make notes of the procedure followed and the words spoken, and then afterwards to ask the priest for his explanation of the ritual passages and phrases. Often a passage which was obscure in meaning would become clearer by comparison with the corresponding rite in other localities. For example, when the gods go "to the bath" (*ke bédji*), a sprinkling of a few drops of water in their direction may be all that is done, whereas in another village the god-figures may receive a thorough shower-bath, water poured over them, and a careful anointing afterward with the contents of the "toilet tray" (*pebersihan*). This toilet-tray will be found to be present among the offerings even for the most sketchy of bath rituals. Not infrequently the contents of the offerings for a specific rite would serve to identify it in another locality, where it went by a different name.

The prayer formulae or *mantras* repeated by the priests in the course of the ritual may be of some assistance in throwing light on the significance of a ceremonial passage, but as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated, or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese, and some Sanskrit verses are preserved in a form not too utterly corrupted to be beyond recognition by Sanskrit scholars.

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on. Both the parts of Barong and of Rangda are taken by men, so that the male and female aspect of the dramatization is taken off the plane of ordinary humanity and lifted to the level of the masked supernaturals. It seems clear that, when the players who are enacting these supernaturals are doing so simply because they are so cast in the theatrical performance, there need not be any identification such as I have pointed to in the course of the temple ceremony.

In the course of our study we were careful to collect as many introspective statements of the Balinese principals in these trance performances as it was possible to glean, by interviewing them ourselves or by sending our especially trained secretaries to do so. The non-verbal character of the Balinese made these statements relatively unrevealing. It was, apparently, almost impossible for a Balinese trance subject to put into words what he had experienced, even though the acting out, the attitudes and gestures of his performance, had been most eloquent. The things the Balinese have to say about their trance experiences are so very stereotyped, they are so tongue tied, so lacking in any sort of flow of really personal descriptive quality, that the very meagerness of their expression becomes a point to be noted. It is for this reason that we reproduce here the translations of two conversations, taken down in Balinese by G.M. on the days immediately following the ceremonies that we have been describing. The first is with a male subject, the second with a female. They are fairly typical of a very much larger number of interviews intended to throw light on the subjective experiences of our trance subjects.

G. M.—On the trance of I Toeroen. The Njonjah ordered me to ask about I Toeroen's going so often into trance. That's what I was ordered to ask about by Njonjah. She told me to ask whether at the time when he began to go in trance he was ill or not. That's what I was ordered to ask. It was evening, then, and I met the priest of Dalem (*Mangkoe Dalem*) and I asked him about I Toeroen. The child of I Toeroen is called I Rebig and he plays *ketjak* (in the *djangér* dance). That child is still only five years old. That child is like in shape to I Toeroen. I Toeroen is not very old, but he is still *njalah* (half old). At evening, then, I questioned the priest. The priest said that he was not a person who had been sick, not at all. He was a person who often went in trance (*keraoehan*) at the time of the Barong (play) in (the village of) Taman. I then further questioned the priest thus, "If it is so that I Toeroen was not ill formerly, what is it called then, when it's like that?" The priest of Dalem said, "When it's like that, if he is not ill first, all of a sudden he can go in trance at the time of the festival, and that is called *djedjawatan* (official—?, from *djawat*, Malay, an office, a post), and those who are ill in the beginning are called *kesekoeng* by the gods." I Toeroen at the time of going in trance with the Barong (play) most often stabs his cheek as well as

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Part III.

Divers Points of View, together with some Explanatory Legends.

I have said that the Balinese authorities do not agree. I shall report some of the opinions and stories expressed to me in conversation with various Balinese, priests and educated men and princes, on the subject of twins. This seems to me a good method for approaching the subject as it exists in their minds. The same people might modify or revise their beliefs after referring to the lontars — later we shall take up the information that these contain — but their original statements are more illuminating for grasping their actual living concepts.

Here is the mystical point of view, as presented by a Satryă, Chokordă Ngurah of Ubud: "The word *bunching* means the same as *ardă nari swari* (Skr. ardhanareçvari), which, applied to the gods, means the male and the female, the god and his wife in one person. As Batară Siwă has only one wife, Giri Putri, but she has many names and forms, according to the different aspects in which she is worshipped (literally: 'the different places where she is seated', *mĕlinggih*). She is called Durgă, Umă, etc. All the gods, Batară Wisnu, Batară Bramă, each has only one wife.

"And so to be born with a wife is to be born as a god, and the twin boy if he marries his twin may have only that one wife, like a god.

"Now it is written that Batară Siwă made all men. First he made Brahmă, and Brahmă made the world, and his children were the four castes, Brahman, Satryă, Wésyă and Sudră. So that all men are in sense the children and descendants of Batară Siwă, and therefore it is possible for them to be born as gods, as *kĕmbar bunching*. But it is only right for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to be born or to have children in that way, and people of Sudră caste are not allowed to have children in that way. If they do, and they can because they also are descendants of Batară Siwă, they are *salah*, and must be purified, together with the village where the disaster occurred.